

Doc 2758

海峽植民地は、各年九月一日迄、先將各島、獨善、
トモ、モ、ル、言、述、ハ、ル、ミ、ミ、其、時、期、明、示、シ、テ、ハ、ル、處、独、善、の、案、シ
キ、之、方、實、現、シ、長、ク、不、安、定、之、極、故、皇、后、は、ミ、ミ、帝、國、之、意、ニ、付、疑、念、起、リ
ミ、ミ、之、處、ナ、ミ、ト、モ、ス、殊、ニ、敵、友、交、友、の、説、ヲ、以、テ、一、角、ニ、冬、ハ、ミ、ミ、今、言、現、地
民、ノ、對、日、協、力、ヲ、愈、々、積、極、化、ス、ル、必、要、ヲ、言、フ、以、テ、際、各、年、之、聲、明、ヲ、更
ニ、具、體、化、シ、獨、立、時、期、ヲ、明、定、シ、之、中、外、之、發、表、シ、以、テ、本、島、要、自、主、自、定、ニ
對、ス、ル、帝、國、之、真、實、執、行、ル、意、圖、ヲ、宣、明、ス、ル、要、リ、然、レ、モ、見、地、ハ、今、日、別、案
ノ、如、キ、決、定、ヲ、為、サ、シ、ト、ス、ル、必、要、ナ、リ。

三、次ニ決定案ニ付若干説明スベシ。

(一)要領一ニ付

東印度ノ民度、各、地、域、ニ、依、リ、一、様、ナ、リ、最、モ、民、度、高、ク、會、實、質、上、モ
獨、立、ニ、適、格、ヲ、具、備、ス、ル、ハ、勿、論、シ、ヤ、ワ、ニ、ミ、ミ、蘭、餘、地、域、ハ、必、ズ、ミ、ミ、直
獨、立、ニ、適、格、ヲ、有、ス、ル、ト、ハ、認、得、サ、ル、モ、ナ、リ、從、テ、此、際、決、シ、シ、ヤ、ワ、ノ、
ミ、ミ、獨、立、ヲ、許、容、ス、ル、他、ノ、地、域、ハ、更、ニ、其、ノ、會、實、質、ノ、完、備、ヲ、俟、テ、獨、立、セ、シ、ム、
ト、ノ、論、モ、リ、得、ヘ、キ、處、從、東、東、印、度、獨、立、ヲ、首、唱、シ、来、ル、所、謂、獨、立、道、
勸、者、ハ、當、ニ、蘭、領、東、印、度、ヲ、一、體、ト、シ、テ、之、ヲ、一、體、ト、シ、獨、立、セ、シ、ミ、ト、申、
望、シ、タ、ル、モ、ミ、ミ、此、際、シ、ヤ、ワ、ノ、ミ、ミ、切、斷、ニ、獨、立、セ、シ、ル、コ、ト、ハ、彼、等、ヲ
失、望、セ、シ、ス、折、角、ノ、效、果、ヲ、半、減、ス、ル、ミ、ミ、ミ、ミ、武、ハ、帝、國、カ、蘭、餘、地、域、何、何、等、カ
野、ハ、ト、ハ、非、ス、ヤ、ト、疑、念、ヲ、生、セ、シ、ル、ノ、惧、ナ、リ、ト、モ、ス、依、テ、此、際、獨、立、セ、シ、ム、
地、域、ハ、舊、蘭、印、全、部、ナ、ル、旨、ヲ、明、示、ス、ル、可、ト、ス、ル、必、要、ナ、リ、又、本、項、ハ、獨、立、セ、シ、
ハ、ミ、ミ、地、域、ハ、舊、蘭、印、ニ、ミ、ミ、英、領、「マ、ラ、タ」及、北「ホ、ル、ネ、オ」ヲ、合、シ、サ、ル、コ、ト、ヲ、意、
味、ス、ル、モ、ナ、リ、處、之、等、地、域、ハ、地、理、的、ニ、舊、蘭、印、ト、近、接、ス、ル、從、來、歷、史、的、傳、統、於、
ミ、ミ、全、然、別、個、存、在、タ、リ、ト、モ、ミ、ミ、ミ、ミ、舊、蘭、印、ト、一、體、ニ、獨、立、セ、シ、ル、コ、ト、ハ、不、適、當、
且、不、必、要、ナ、リ、ト、思、考、シ、テ、之、ヲ、除、外、セ、ル、次、第、ナ、リ。

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(二) 要領ニ、二付

第二項ハ重要地域即チ「ジャワ」「スマタラ」等、独立準備完了セル際ハ独立セシムル地域トシテ定メラシタル舊蘭印全地域ニ亘リ新国家ハ独立ヲ宣言セシムルコトヲ意味スルモノナリ。或ハ準備完了セル地域ヨリ先ツ独立セシム、爾他地域ニ付テハ其準備完了スルヲ俟テ逐次之ヲ新国家ニ参加セシムル方法モ考ヘ得ヘキモ、右如キ方法ハ前述旧蘭印全部ヲ一作トシテ考フル所謂「インドネシア」独立運動者、誤解ヲ招ク虞アルノミナラス、爾他地域ヲ準備完了次第新国家ニ編入スル際ハ法理的説明ニ困難アリ。寧ロ重要地域準備完了次第全地域ニ亘リ一斉ニ独立宣言ヲ爲サシムルヲ適當ト考フル次第ナリ。而シテ未ダ準備完了セサル地域ニ付テハ一応之ヲ新国家ノ領域トスルモ、依然我方軍政ヲ繼續シ、準備完了ヲ俟テ逐次之ヲ新国家ニ移管セントスル次第ナリ(第二項)。

第三項ニ所謂独立準備委員会ハ全地域ニ亘リ独立準備ノタメノ委員会ナルモ新国家ノ中心ハ結局「ジャワ」ニシテ、又現在準備進捗状況モ「ジャワ」カ最モ進ミ居ルヲ以テ、便宜上独立準備委員会ハ之ヲ「ジャワ」ニ設ケントスルモノナリ。勿論「ジャワ」以外ノ地域ニ於テモ右独立準備委員会ノ準備進捗状況ニ付テハ独立準備ヲ促進スベキコトハ當然ナリ。

又、ジャワニ設立せられべき独立準備委員会ハ全地域、
独立ヲ準備スルモノナリト以テ当然各地域ヨリノ代表
者ノ参加ヲ豫想スルモノナリ。或ハ現下ノ交通状
況ヨリシテ東印各地方ヨリ代表者ヲジャワニ派遣
スルニハ困難ナリトモ思考セラルル処。右ノ如キ場合ニ
於テハジャワニハ東印各地方ノ代表人物居住スル
ヲ以テ之等ヲシテ代理セシムルコトヲ考慮シ得ヘシ。

(三) 要領三ニ付

新国家ノ独立ノ時期ハ方針ニ示シタル通り可及的
之ヲ速カトラシメタキ。沙存ニシテ現地ニ於ケル準備、
都合ハアルヘキニ戦局ノ状況並ニ国際情勢ニ鑑ミ、
今年秋ニハ實現セシムル必要アリト認メ居トリ。
而シテモ急遽ニ展開スル国際政局ニ対処スル爲メ
独立ノ豫定時期ヲ速ニ概定シ新国家ノ領域タルヘキ
地域ト其ニ之ヲ覺悟スルニ適當ニシテ尙本件ノ發表
ヲ我々ニ於テ之ヲ爲サス。独立準備委員会ヲシテ
爲サシムルコトトセル趣旨ハ本件ノ新国家ノ独立力
我々ノ指導乃至平定ニ基クモノト、形ヲ執ラズ飽ク
近モ東印各民族ノ自覺的發意ニ基クモノナリト、
自然發生的形ヲ取ラシムルヲ適宜トスルニ出カルモ、
ナリ。

(四) 要領四ニ付

本項モ前項ト同ジク新国家ノ独立ヲ東印各民族ノ

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自覚的覚意ニ基クモトスル趣旨ニ出ルモノニシテ
「民意ニ依リ之ヲ宣ハトハ具體的ニハ獨立準備委員
員会ヲシテ之ヲ決定セラルコトニ所々違ハラルモノ
ト考ヘ居シリ

(終)

Ex. # 1349

"Measures for the N.E.I. Independence" Data for Foreign
Minister's Explanation, 17 July, 1945.

I. In the East Indies, there have been fierce Independence movements ever since the time of the Dutch occupation. "Indonesian for the Indonesians" was the earnest desire of the separatists. As soon as our army occupied the East Indies after the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the above pioneers all rendered whole hearted cooperation to us in the expectation that the golden opportunity for Independence had offered itself. They have achieved successful results in their activities as members of the Chuo Sangi-In (Central Advisory Council) and as officials or members of local administrative organizations. On the other hand, the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration was issued in November of the year before last clarifying the Empire's great policy to respect the Independence of every country in Greater East Asia. Simultaneously, with the establishment of Independence in Burma and the Philippines and of the Free India Temporary Government, the desire of the leaders of Independence Movements in the East Indies also was greatly encouraged.

The Empire, on her part, regarded it proper to carry through the spirit of the Greater East Asia Declaration and to make some kind of gesture in regard to the problem of Independence for the East Indies as a reward for the cooperation and expectation of the native inhabitants.

Accordingly, after deliberation at the Supreme War Supervisory Conference of Sept. 5th, last year, former Prime Minister Koiso, in his declaration of the government's policies at the 85th Extraordinary Session of the Diet on Sept. 9th, made a statement that, "The Empire is ready to recognize Independence for the East Indies in order to secure everlasting welfare for her people", thereby clarifying the Empire's intentions on this problem.

Of course, at the Supreme War Supervisory Conference of Sept. 5th, it was merely decided that the above statement was to be made at the Diet Session; and in regard to the areas to which Independence was to be granted, there was no question to Java and Sumatra, but nothing definite was decided on the rest of the areas. Only it was decided to permit the use of the Indonesian song and the Indonesian flag which had heretofore been prohibited, and to encourage and increase the participation in politics by inhabitants to give the native inhabitants a chance to investigate and study matters necessary for the Independence.

II In response to the above statement by the Imperial Government, an Independence Investigation Committee was established in Java; while in Sumatra and Celebes also, measures had been taken to encourage participation in politics by native inhabitants. Necessary preparations had been

under

under way, when in the statement of Sept. 7th, last year, it was merely stated "her Independence shall be recognized in the future", and no time for it had been indicated. To promise the Indonesians their Independence and have its realization in a state of uncertainty for a long time, will, it is feared, give rise to doubts as to the sincerity of our Empire.

Especially, at this moment when the enemy's counter-offensive is already about to extend to a corner of the East Indies, it will be imminent, from the necessity of seeking a more positive cooperation from the native inhabitants, to further materialize the statement made last year and to decide clearly the time for the Independence and announce it at home and abroad, thereby clarifying the Empire's true intentions towards the complete adjustment of Independence for Greater East Asia.

From this standpoint, it is desired at this occasion to come to a decision as in the separate plan.

III Next, a few explanations will be made on the plan for decision.

(1) Regarding Point I.

The standards of the East Indies people are not the same in various areas. Java, of course, has the highest standard and in reality, has the qualifications for Independence. The rest of the areas are not recognized as being necessarily qualified for Independence immediately.

Therefore, some may entertain the opinion that at this occasion Java, only should be granted Independence first of all, and wait for the substantial perfection of other areas to grant them their Independence. But the so-called separatists, who have advocated Independence for the East Indies in the past, regarded the Dutch East Indies as one body and desired to get Independence for the whole area.

To grant Independence only to Java, separately, at this time, will disappoint the Indonesians and we regret that it will not only reduce the effect by half, but it is feared that it may give rise to suspicion that the Empire might harbour territorial ambitions in the rest of the areas. So it is regarded best to make it clear that the area to be granted Independence is the former Dutch Indies entirely.

Furthermore, this means that the area to be granted Independence is the former Dutch Indies, not including British Malaya and North Borneo. These areas are geographically adjacent to the former Dutch Indies, but they have an entirely separate existence in their historical traditions.

It

It is regarded inappropriate and unnecessary to grant these areas their Independence together with the former Dutch Indies, and so they have been excluded.

(2) Regarding Point II.

Article No (1) shall mean that when preparations for Independence will have been completed in the principal areas, that is Java and Sumatra, Independence for a new nation shall be declared in the entire area of the former Dutch Indies, which has been decided as the area to be granted Independence. Or a method may be considered by which the areas having completed preparations will be granted Independence first, then the rest of the areas will be included in the new nation successively after completion of their respective preparations. However, it is feared that such a method will invite misunderstanding among the so-called Indonesian separatists who regard the former Dutch Indies entirely as one body.

There is also the difficulty in the legal explanation in incorporating the rest of the areas into the new country as soon as their preparations will have been completed. Rather, it is considered proper to declare Independence simultaneously for the entire area as soon as preparations will have been completed in the principal areas.

It is, therefore, our desire to consider the areas, in which preparations have not yet been completed, as territories of the new nation, for the time being; but our military administration will continue to rule these areas until their preparations will have been completed, when they will be transferred to the new nation, (Article No. II).

The so-called Independence Preparation Committee, mentioned in Article III, is a committee for the preparation of Independence covering the entire area, but the center of the new nation is, after all, Java; and Java is, at present, the farthest ahead in the state of progress in preparation. So, for convenience sake, it is our desire to establish the Independence Preparation Committee in Java. Of course, it will be proper to promote preparations for Independence in areas other than Java according to the state of progress in the preparations made by the Independence Preparation Committee.

Moreover, the Independence Preparation Committee to be established in Java will be to prepare for Independence in the entire area, so it is, of course, expected that representatives from various areas will participate in it. However, under the present communication situation, it is considered difficult to dispatch represen-

tative

tatives from various areas in the East Indies to Java. In such a case, there are representative people from the various areas in the East Indies residing in Java, so it could be considered that these people may be called upon to substitute.

(3) Regarding Point III.

It is our desire to decide the time for the Independence of the new nation as soon as possible as has been indicated in our policy. There may be circumstances for preparations on the spot, but in view of the war situation and the international situation, it is believed necessary to realize it by autumn this year at the latest.

However, in order to cope with the speedily developing international political situation, it will be proper to immediately decide in general the estimated time for the Independence and to announce it with the areas to be the territory of the new nation.

Furthermore, this announcement shall not be made from our side, but by the Independence Preparation Committee. The purpose is that it is considered proper to make this Independence of the new nation seem, as much as possible, like the natural organization based on the voluntary initiative of the people of the East Indies, and not based on our supervision and suggestions.

(4) Regarding Point IV.

This article, like the above, is for the purpose of making the Independence of the new nation seem like it is based upon the voluntary initiative of the people of the East Indies, and the statement, "This will be decided according to the will of the people", means in reality, it is believed, that the Independence Preparation Committee will be made to decide the matter.

C E R T I F I C A T E

W.D.C. No. _____

I.P.S. No. 2758Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Hayashi, Kaoru, hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Chief of Archives Section, Foreign Office

and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 8 pages, dated 17 July, 1945, and described as follows: Measures for the Independence of the N.E.I. Data for Foreign Minister's Explanation.

I further certify that the attached record and document is a copy of an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): Foreign Office

Signed at Tokyo on this14th day of Nov., 1946.

/s/ K. Hayashi
Signature of Official

Witness: /s/ T. Sato

SEAL

Official Capacity

Statement of Official Procurement

I, 2nd Lt. Eric W. Fleisher O-935000, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this14th day of Nov., 1946

AUSMI
/s/ Eric W. Fleisher, 2nd Lt.
NAME

/s/
Witness: Hiram E. Newbill

Investigator, IPS
Official Capacity